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*Points in the History of the Greek, and Indo-Scythian Kings in Bactria, Cabul, and India, as illustrated by decyphering the ancient legends on their coins. By CHRISTIAN LASSEN, Bonn, 1838.*<sup>1</sup>

With Mithra, it appears, was connected a very peculiar polytheism, which had utterly departed from the spirit of the unfigured worship of light, as taught by the original and true Magi; it also appears, that Mithra himself was considered in this worship as the solar god, Helios, as the *Sol Invictus* of the Roman inscriptions of later periods, and that a number of deified beings are grouped around him, produced by the same combination of the religious elements of Asia Minor and of Iran. This religion was more congenial to the Parthians than the purer form of Magism. When under Arsaces VI, they conquered the sanctuary in Elymais, where the goddess Nanea was adored, and when they appropriated to themselves its treasures, they may have probably admitted the worship of this goddess under the name there used.\* The Indo-Scythians, when in the time of Arsaces VII, and VIII, about the year 130 B.C. they roamed and plundered throughout the Parthian empire, found this worship already established, and a horde of the same people maintaining themselves for some ages in a remote corner of the Parthian empire, made it as entirely their own,

<sup>1</sup> Continued from p. 378. vol. ix.

\* Strabo xvi. p. 744. Vaillant Arsac. imp. p. 41.

as if it had originated with them. It must have been the same horde of this people of Nomades, which was ruled by the dynasty bearing the name *Kanerki*, as the coins of the *Kanerkis* alone, not those of Kadphises and Azes, exhibit the gods of this system.

Without as yet undertaking to determine chronologically the era of the *Kanerkis* and *Oærkis*, I shall now content myself with collecting facts from the fragments of the language upon the coins, to apply them hereafter to history. Now as to this, Mr. Mueller has pointed out, with great minuteness and perfect correctness, as appears to me, two principal elements, included in the system of gods upon the *Kanerki* coins; deified beings, according to the doctrine of Ahuramazda, of Ormuzd; and, secondly, those taken from the religious belief of the countries of Asia Minor, viz. of Mithra, of Nanaia, and of the Persian Diana. This supposition is countenanced by the names of gods, which, as far as their interpretation is corroborated, are not derived from the countries of India, but from those of Iran.

I shall review the names of these gods, with regard to their derivation, and in effecting this, it will be my principal object to ascertain, whether Indian names be discovered among them, as the consequence of this would be, that the Pantheon of the Indo-Scythians received some additions on the banks of the Indus.

My whole task is here so beautifully prepared by Messrs. Prinsep\* and Mueller, that I cannot do better than present their inquiries in a form, which assimilates with those of my own.

The gods are the following—

I. Mithra. A figure in the dress of the east, with flowing robe, the head surrounded with a circular nimbus of pointed rays, extending the right arm, and supporting the left on the hip, or leaning on a spear. M. 229.

Upon the coins, on the face of which *Kanerki* is styled βασιλεύς, we observe ΗΛΙΟΣ; and ΜΙΘΡΟ where he is styled PAO-KANHPKI; MIIPO appears exclusively to be-

\* Especially iv. p. 629, &c.

long to those coins where the name is already corrupted to OOHPKI. Mueller p. 236.

The original form in Zend is *Mithra*, to which the Μίθρῑ of the names of the Cappadocian months corresponds: hence is produced *Mihir* in Pazend, and *Mihir* (مهر) in modern Persia, which forms are connected with the Cappadocian forms Μίηρᾱν (pronounced *Mīran*) and Μυαρ in a more corrupted form. In the same manner ΜΙΘΡΟ upon the *Kanerki* coins is transformed into ΜΙΙΡΟ, which latter must probably be pronounced *Mihiro*. (v. Mueller at the same place.)

I beg only to add, that *Mitra*, though in Sanscrit likewise denoting *Sun*, is merely one name of the sun among many others, nor is it distinguished in a way, that it can have given rise to this peculiar name of the supreme *Helios*. *Mihira* also denotes *sun* in Sanscrit, and though this cannot be corruptly altered from *Mitra*, yet it is to be derived from a Sanscrit root, as grammatists do. But it must depend wholly upon the fact being carefully ascertained, that *Mihira* was not only used in modern writings, but also in the Vedas to denote *sun*, whether we can approve of this derivation, or we have to bring back this word, together with the worship of the Indo-Scythians to India, after its corruption in the countries of Iran from *Mithra* to *Mihira*.

II. MAO, the moon. A youth in the dress of the East, similar to the dress of Phrygia, with flowing robe, a kind of turban on the head, with a large half moon behind his shoulders, such as the *Deus Lunus* bears upon coins of Asia Minor, the situation in the whole, the same with Mithras. (v. Mueller at the same place.)

*Mao* is the nominative of the Zend form of *mās*, the word indeed is likewise Sanscrit, as it is a common word of all the Asian languages, denoting the moon as a measure for time; the root is *mā*, (measure) but the Sanscrit nominative is *mās*. The forms *Mav*, Μην, are only various off-shoots of the same root. The genitive MANAO, shortly to be alluded to, which presupposes the root MAN, appears to warrant, that the lunar god in the form he is possessed of upon our coins, was received from the West. But here may likewise be admitted the interpreta-



tion, that MANAO is to express the Zend genetive *māonhō*. In this case *a* would have been substituted for *h*, which letter could not be expressed in the Greek language, while *áo*, the *o* of which, together with the succeeding *nh*, takes its origin in the *s* of an older form, probably was no real diphthong; but both *o* and *nh* together seem to express the nasal pronunciation, which precedes *h* in this position; the vowel *á*, as that of the root, was therefore alone expressed in the Greek orthography.

III. MANAO BAFO, obviously a deified being, related to *Mao*; a large moon-like sickle therefore also appears with him behind the shoulders; he has four arms, leaning one arm on the hip, and holding symbols, not to be made out, with the three others; he is in a kind of Turkish dress, with large trowsers, seated on a spacious throne. (v. Mueller at the same place, p. 236.)

Mr. Prinsep has explained BAFO by *baga* (Sanskrit) *splendour*; the word besides denotes, *beauty, glory, omnipotence*; and *Bhagavat*, is a name of Vishnu, as also a frequent epithet of gods. At the same time it belongs to the Zend, and even to the old Persian language, and on carefully examining the meaning of the word in them, it becomes evident, how this peculiar god of the moon is to be understood upon the coins. The four arms perhaps intimate Indian influence.

IV. *Anaitis*, NANAIA, NANA, strangely also called NANA PAO, a female figure, dressed in long folded drapery, having a nimbus without rays, and a tiara with flowing ribands, with the right hand holding a branch, or something similar. (v. Mueller at the same place.)\*

The Persian *Artemis* has been long ago recognised in this goddess, the worship of whom Artaxerxes Mnemon endeavoured to spread over all Persia, especially in Bactria, and it agrees with this supposition, that this Artemis, as Mr. Raoul Rochette has proved it, appears upon the Agathokles-coins as *Artemis Hecate*, bearing a torch, and triple-formed according to the phases of the moon. The word could hardly have originated in Iran, and certainly not in India; it is a goddess of the moon, and the grammatical form of the word is likewise feminine;

\* As. Trans. pl. III. No. 4 pl. xxxvi. No. 4.



so that the form PAO, by her name, seems to violate the rules of grammar.

V. *Athro*, AΘPO, an old man, bearded, clothed in a tunic, with a wide flowing robe, with the extended right hand (at least on many coins) holding a wreath tied to a long riband. The upper part of the figure is surrounded with flames, which leave no doubt, that here a genius of fire is represented, (v. Mueller at the same place). To Mr. Prinsep is due the well founded interpretation by the Zend word *âtars*. The word is here, however, transmitted from the grave declination *âtars* into the soft one *ath(a)ra*, (nom. *athro*.) In Sanscrit (of the classic period at least) the word *atar* does not occur in the sense of fire.

VI. OKPO. This word is usually met with near a figure, the lower parts of the person clothed, with the left hand holding a trident, and the right a snare, and leaning upon an Indian ox. Mr. Mueller reminds us, that this position is similar to the figure of Siva and his bullock, Nandi, upon the Kadphises-coins. The same name is also ascribed to a figure, standing opposite to Nana,\* having a light dress, four arms, and the head surrounded with a circular nimbus without rays.

Mr. Prinsep has proposed to explain the word by *arka* (in Sanscrit, sun); this is doubtful, for besides that we have already the sun, Mr. Mueller very properly reminds us, that all the names, authentically explained, lead to a Zendic origin; likewise the reason for the transposition of *rk* to *kr* is not evident.

On the other hand, a Zendic word suited to explain OKPO, is not known, and besides another interpretation is indeed more to the point.

The bullock, and the four arms, call to mind the Indian god Siva, whose name is *Ugra*; the snare? (*pâza*) also is an attribute of Siva. By the coin, As. T. IV. pl. LI. No. 1, it is still more evident, that Siva is meant, when he as *pazupati*, (lord of animals) has an antelope with him. As to what Siva had to do with this system, might be differently interpreted; leaving, however, this to the mythologists, we would only add, that

\* Vol. IV. pl. XXXVIII. No. 7.

whenever Nana and Okro are placed opposite each to the other, Siva in this case is obviously interpreted in accordance with the character of Mithra. For the Indian Siva has the goddess of the moon only as attributive, usually as a moon-formed sickle over his head, here however stands the goddess of the moon opposite to him as his wife, as if she were understood as metamorphosed into *Parvati*; moreover *Parvati* has a strong resemblance to *Artemis Hecate*.

If this interpretation of *Okro* be well founded, (and so it must be by reason of the bullock *Nandi* upon the coins, *As. Trans.* iv. Pl. xxxviii. Nos. 4, 5), an Indian element appears in the Indo-Scythian system, which as first annexed to it on the banks of the Indus, may be easily explained by the Siva worship upon the *Kadphises*-coins.

*Okro* as well as *Athro* point out a dialect, which allowed of no literal absorptions, and therefore was different from that exhibited in the native legends.

VII. OAO, *As. Trans.* iv. pl. li. No. 8. A youth with a crown of glory, and a light dress. He holds, as he runs, with both hands, a wide robe, which falling down in large circular lines, surrounds the figure. (Mueller.)

The name is as yet unexplained; I propose *vádó*, that is *wind*, (in Zend *vátó*, modern Persian *bád*.) In Sanscrit too, *vátá* denotes *wind*, *the god of wind*; more frequently *váju*. As the wind is also worshipped in *Zendavesta*, and even as *váto*, this element of Scythian mythology perhaps belongs to Iran. The running alludes to the wind.—

VIII. (A)PΔHΘPO, upon the coins of *Kodes*, *As. Trans.* iv. pl. xxv. No. 11, 12, and No. 13. A standing male figure, dressed in a tunic, with the left hand leaning on a spear, the right resting on the hip, flames round the shoulders, and a head dress, the shape of it indistinct. It stands there PΔHOPOY-MAKAP, which Mr. Prinsep\* has acutely altered into APΔH-

\* Mr. Prinsep observes, v. p. 643, that some copper coins have OPOOK-PO, and would explain it by *Arjarka*. According to my supposition, OPOOKPO approaches more nearly Indian orthography. The figure on a very late and rough kind of coins, (see iv. Pl. l.) which is called the

ΘΡΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΟΣ. In the same relation as ΑΡΔΗΘΡΟ stands to ΑΕΡΟ, does.

IX. ΑΡΔΟΚΡΟ or ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ to ΟΚΡΟ. The figure of *Ordokro*, however, is very different from that of *Okro*. *Ardokro* is represented as a woman in long clothes, with a circular nimbus round the head, in the hands a large cornucopia, usually in a standing position, but upon later coins, sitting on a throne, with the feet on a footstool (Mueller). Mr. Prinsep has proposed the very plausible interpretation, that the prefixed syllable ΑΡΔ might be the old Persian *Arta* in Artaxerxes, the Pehlivee *ard* in Ardeschir, and in similar names, therefore *venerable, holy*. But I strongly hesitate. How can *Ardokro* have a male termination, and female figure? Then *Okro*, substituted for *arka ardokro* would be a vox hybrida. The same will be objected to *Okro*, when substituted for *Ugra*. This is true, but if *Okro* was properly explained by *Ugra*, another interpretation is offered for *Ardokro*.

*Ard* perhaps in this case may be *Ardha*, meaning *half*,\* and *Ordokro* is *ardhógró* (*half Siva*, i. e. an androgyne Siva) as on the other hand *Ardhanari*, (*half wife*), is likewise used for this figure. This interpretation satisfactorily vindicates the masculine termination with the figure of a goddess.

X. ΟΡΛΑΓΝΟ upon a coin of Kanerki, As. Trans. iv. Pl. xxxvi. No. 1, Mr. Prinsep takes it for ΟΡΔΑΓΝΟ, from *ard*, and the Indian *agni*, fire. The coin however, has no symbols of fire,† and the legend gives □ instead of N. I shall wait for further information.

XI. ΦΑΡΟ. At the same place, No. 2, an ΟΟΗΡΚΙ coin, with the robe, so frequently thrown behind with those figures, extending the right hand, the left supported on a long sceptre, the head surrounded with a circular nimbus, very little different from Mithra himself. (Mueller.)

dancer, refers also to Siva. There seems to be ΟΡΟΟΚΡΟ too, p. 633. We find there the complete type of Siva Tripurāntaka, the wild dance of Siva, who throws the giant to the ground. I refer to the representation by Tod, Trans. of the R. A. S. 5 p. 11.

\* It is a figure armed with spear, sword, helmet and a wide robe.

† V. p. 640.



Mr. Prinsep (V. p. 640) calls to mind the names Phraates, Phraortes, Phradates. The last especially is very plausible; and Phradates might have been substituted for Pharadates; *Phara* would be the root for *Pharô*. Mithradates and so many similar names are sufficiently known. Phradates cannot, however, be but *fradata*, i. e. *fra* cannot be but the preposition. I observe in Vendidad Sade, p. 50, a word *frâ* (bjô), which I, however, cannot explain.

XII. Mr. Mueller cites, according to the coin, vol. III. Pl. xxv. No. 11, another figure of a god, with the legend ΟΔΥΟΒΟΥΛΑΚΑΝΑ; ΑΛΑ, however is uncertain. I have no conjecture to offer whatever, (there is only one figure) on this word.

The word ΜΑΘΡΟ which Mr. Prinsep reads on some coins of the king, riding on an elephant (As. Trans. III. p. 453), perhaps is merely ΜΙΘΡΟ, a little indistinct. Thus we at least observe it upon one of those coins; vol. v. Pl. LI. No. 10.

I have thus subjected these coins also, as briefly as I possibly could do it, to an examination, with reference to their philological facts. The principal historical fact, resulting from them, that the dynasty of *Kanerki*, *Oerki*, and of their successors, however they may have been styled, were addicted to a doctrine, which compounded of those of Mithra and Zoroaster, cannot have been produced, but while they passed through Bactria to India, scarcely required so long a discussion; while on the other hand, as regards the religious history, a discussion, much more exact, must be undertaken, as many new materials will probably be supplied from additional coins. The mixture of an Indian ingredient in that mythology derived from the Siva worship, may be considered as a discovery, casually obtained. All these names of gods do not properly fix the native country of the coins, but bear the impress of those countries, in which the gods originated, and not necessarily or exclusively of the region in which the *Kanerkis* reigned, when the coins were struck by their order. The words of Zend, however, incidentally concur in proving the Zend to have been at that period the language of Bactria, and perhaps of Sogdiana. In a strict sense, PAONANOPAO and KOPANO alone hint at the native country of the coins.

## § 10.

*Indian, Sassanian, and very ancient Indian coins.*

We shall here only touch these two classes as the limits of our investigations, and as points, important for the critical illustration of the former classes. A discovery made by Mr. Prinsep, and fully examined in some treatises by him, gives both classes an unexpected reference to the foregoing ones, viz. that the Indian coins the most ancient we know, have been gradually formed partly out of the different species of *Kanerki*-coins, partly out of a peculiar class of Sassanian coins.\*

This latter class scarcely belongs to the well known dynasty of Persia Proper, whose coins are brought for sale to the bazars of Cabool, (As. T. VI. 289) but a collateral line of the Sassanides must have reigned in Cabul, and Beghrum. At the latter place a great number of their coins have been discovered. We observe two different kinds of them, to which a numerous division of coins is joined, already entirely Indian, and having Nagari legends. These latter shall here no further occupy us.

The first class of the coins, strictly Sassanian, consists of small copper coins, which may be divided, after the head-dresses of their images, into three series: one coin of this class is published by Mr. Masson, As. Trans. v. Pl. XLIV. The legend appears hardly to be in the characters, known to us. The second class is chiefly distinguished by a buffaloe's head being over the head of the king, and by the fire altar on the reverse. Their legends seem to be a species of the character of Sassanian Pehlvi as found on coins, but they also have Dêvanagari letters, As. Trans. VI. Pl. XIV. No. 3. No. 5. No. 6.

By this they are connected with a class, a few specimens of which are only discovered, two however in Manikyâla. They have the complete Sassanian type, with the exception of the fire altar, with legends in Dêvanagari, As. Trans. III. Pl. XXI. p. 439. VI. p. 288. A third of these coins from Cabul (As. Trans. III. Pl. XXV. No. 6.) distinctly has the name श्रीवासुदेव

\* See chiefly As. Trans. IV. p. 621, p. 668, then vol. VI. p. 288. Specimens of Hindoo coins, descended from the Parthian type, though the word Parthian in the title for Sassanian is not at its right place.

*Crivásudéva*. Beside these legends, others in Pehlvi characters are met with. A *Vásudéva* is related by Muhammedan history to have been king of Kanôja about the year 330 A. D.\* As. Trans. iv. p. 348. He is perhaps the same, the coin of whom is extant.

The first of the classes, above mentioned, of the Sassanian coins from Kabulistan, proves, that a separate (independent) dynasty of Sassan's descendants have reigned there; the second class proves, that a dynasty, related to it, or the very same, ruled in India itself, perhaps in the Punjaub, (to this conclusion we are led by the Indian characters), and that it gradually gave way to purely Indian kings; for *Vásudéva* is certainly an Indian name.

Mirkhond indeed mentions the name of the king of Cabul, as of an independent king, the daughter of whom the Sassanian Hurmuz, the son of Narsis, married.†

I think I still can point out a new kind of coins, referring to this division.

Swinton has already published a coin, which he calls Parthian‡. The head of a king is there surrounded by the following Greek legend: BACI-ΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑC-MO—, while the reverse has a Roman Victoria, and a legend in a character, which Swinton proposed to read, (upon the pretended similarity with Palmyrian letters), *Padeshane mo(nesh)*, *Emperor Monneses*.

On this *Monneses* as on *Adinnigaüs* of which affinitive coins exist, Ekhel arrived at the result, that they were not Parthian,

\* This Vasudéva perhaps belonged to the dynasty of the Guptas' which we find in India at the same period with the Sassanides, of whose names Mr. Prinsep has already restored a long series according to coins, As. Trans. v. p. 536. One of them, Kandragupta, boasts in the second inscription of the column at Allahabad, not long ago authentically published, of having received tributes from the kings of Persia and Saka. The expressions, are very remarkable: *दैवपुत्रघाहिषाहानघाहि* the Shah, born of God, the Shah of Shahs, "which exactly is the title of the Sassanides upon coins and in inscriptions. The proper name is unfortunately not mentioned. As. Trans. VI. p. 977.

† De Sacy *Antiquités de la Perse*, p. 304.

‡ Philosophical Transactions—vol. L. Pl. I. p. 115. Pl. IV. No. 1, another coin, which Swinton ascribes to Balogases III. (vol. XLIX. p. 593) has also relics of native writing, which however is not distinctly Cabulian.



but Bactrian kings.\* Mionnet† arranges both under the kings *Characene*, upon the authority of Visconti, who first properly determined the coins of this dynasty, (*I-conographie Grecque*. III. p. 260.—)

I do not find, that among the acknowledged coins of *Monneses* any one is noted, which has upon the reverse a legend in native characters, and supposing that the *Mo* upon the coin of Swinton supplies *Monneses*, this king was not a native of Charax, but of Cabul; for the native legend obviously is the following :

𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫 viz. in the ordinary form: 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫  
(ma)hârâjô rajâ dirâjô.

The writing has exactly the strokes of the characters in the topes.

The head dress of this coin has rather a Parthian than a Sassanian character, as the victory also intimates a Parthian, not a Sassanian dynasty. The form of the native character leads us, however, almost down to the age of the Sassanides, and certainly fixes Cabul as the native country of this coin. The existence of the Greek writing must, however, prevent us from assigning this coin to a later period than that, when the Greek writing was still in use upon the coins in the countries of Iran. The Sassanides never made use of it, as far as I know, upon coins, and with the Kanerki-coins it fell into disuse in the border countries of India. The coin may therefore belong to the period, preceding that of the Sassanides.

The type of the coins, which are proved to refer to *Monneses*, is at variance with the supposition, that the king on the coin under discussion was likewise called *Monneses*. But as there now is none in the series, known to us, of the Parthian kings, whose name commences with *Mo*, we must be allowed to suppose, as of the Sassanides, so of the Arsakides, a collateral line to have established an independent kingdom on the borders of Kabulistan. But it would be proper to examine, whether the initials preserved of the name rather be not *ME*, in this case *Meherdates* might be conjectured.

To return to the real subject of this chapter, I conclude these remarks by observing, that no Indian imitation of the Kadphises-

\* Doctr. num. vel. I. vol. III. p. 560. † Tome VIII. p. 510. v. p. 706.

coins has been hitherto discovered, and I shall pass to the inferences, which may be drawn from the facts adduced.

*First.*—The Kanerki dynasty have probably survived all the others of foreign origin, the Sassanides excepted, as the coins of the Kanerkis gradually slide into Indian types, which those of the others do not do.

*Secondly.*—The use of the native writing did not cease with the downfall of the Kadphises-dynasty, for it still exists upon the topes, which entomb coins of the Sassanides as well as of the Kadphises and Kanerkis, and the coins of the Sassanides are besides of a more recent form, than that used on the coins of Agathokles. The Pehlvi character under the Sassanides, the Cabulian character on the topes, and a form of Devanagari, much approaching to the modern one, existed therefore together.

*Thirdly.*—The types of the Kanerki-coins in the last period exhibit such a great decay of the art of die-cutting, such a total oblivion of all traditional remembrances of Greek art, that we must on this account too conclude this dynasty to be the last before the Sassanides. The Sassanides moreover had a different religion. But we will not dilate too much on these inferences; for as we do not know when the Sassanides settled themselves in Western India, we cannot dispute that the Kanerkis may have held out for a long time in the time of the Sassanides. Nor is it allowed from the extinction of the native characters upon the coins of the Kanerkis and from its existence upon those of Kadaphes and Yndopherres to infer, that the Kanerkis universally and simultaneously supplanted the Kadphises; for the very existence of the coins upon the topes in which Kanerki-coins were already enclosed, proves that the writing, as being on the coins, was still in use when Kanerki-coins were already struck; it proves, that there were other reasons for not adopting that writing upon the coins, than the abrogation of the characters of the legends; or, in other words, the coins do not prove that the Kadphises did not reign at the same time with the first Kanerkis. But it will be more advisable to look, if possible, for some other, and better defined leading points, before attempting to set ourselves right in this field of speculation, confused as it is by the entanglement of dynasties.

## SECOND PART.

## APPLICATIONS TO HISTORY.

## § 11.

*Geographical points.*

We shall now attempt to comprehend under some more general points of view, the materials, obtained by independent inquiries, applied detachedly to different subjects. We may perhaps thus succeed in grouping these single facts into classes properly arranged.

The results of inquiry separate themselves into three divisions, being partly paleographic, and partly philological, from both which (together with those results which the numismatological examination will bring to light,) follows a series of historic facts, which are to be compared, and brought in accordance with the relics of written history, as it is delivered to us.

From the foregoing inquiry it has been proved on the whole, I hope, that the countries, in eliciting the history of which these ancient coins have unexpectedly presented themselves as a novel documentary agency, are the western boundaries of India. The coins have been partly discovered in western India, especially in the Pentapotamia (Punjab); and the tope of Manikyâla, between the Indus and Hydaspes, has been a principal source of discovery, though it is only one among a number of many others on a smaller scale. They are also found in the regions along the Cabul river, and especially abound in the ruins of Beghram, a town at the southern entrance into the Indian Caucasus, situated if not exactly, yet very near the place where Alexandria ad Caucasum was founded. The whole course of that river, however, is a mine of coins, and the favourite site of the topes, coeval with and witnesses to that period, to which the more recent half of our coins, not the work of Grecian kings, appertains.

Though the more eastern part of India, viz. the (Doab) land between the Zatadru and the Jumna, as well as the country



in the north from the Indian Caucasus to Bactria, have contributed their share to our treasures, yet they have done it only in an inferior degree. Now if the place of discovery of coins may point out the country in which they originated, the Punjab and Cabul are those to which must belong most of the names of kings we have examined. It is therefore necessary more carefully to set ourselves right as to the geography of those countries, with regard to Bactria, and the other parts of India; as regards this, however, the general information possessed by our readers will be amply sufficient. Without extending this geographical inquiry, we may be allowed to refer, as respects the Punjab, to a published work\* which indeed now requires some additions and corrections, but which yet contains all the statements, most important for our purpose.

With respect, however, to the countries about the Cabul river, where the boundaries of Indian and Iranian alphabets, languages and nationalities are fixed, where the empires to which we have to assign their situations come most closely in contact, and seem to intrude one into the place of the other, and for the historic geography of which, there exist sources not fully consulted, as regards those countries, it appears to be indispensable to attempt an independent inquiry, with constant reference to the points to be discussed in the course of examination.

As between Hindoostan and the highlands of Tibet, the Himaleh, properly so called, is the wall of separation, so is the western continuation of the same mountain range between the countries belonging to the Cabul river, and Bactria; we may call this western branch the Indian Caucasus or Hindookush. From the point where the Indus, descending from the north, breaks through this mountain range, it first runs, in about the 36th degree of north latitude to the meridian of Jelalabad; the western extremity of this circle nearly coincides with the 35th degree of north latitude. These mountains, viewed from the southern low land, appear as a four-fold chain of towering hills,†

\* De Pentapotamia Indica commentatio geographica atque historica Bonae, 1827, 4to.

† Elphinstone; an account of Cabul, 1. p. 154, 2 edit.

the fourth range of which being the highest and nearest to the north, rises to the level of eternal snow, and has at least partly an elevation of 20,000 feet.

The Hindookush further runs from the point presently described north-west, and then westerly, till it attains its culmination with the elevated snow-clad peak, properly denominated the Hindookush. The mountains then gradually descend towards the west, assuming the name Paropamisus, while the higher range, turning south-south-westerly, rises again in the Kohi-Baba to a high snowy pinnacle. Under this lies on the westerly side, Bamian, which therefore has a northerly, and not a southerly aspect; this is the discovery of Burnes.

These vast mountains, the Indian Caucasus in its most extensive sense, from the point where the Indus breaks through them to Kohi-Baba, are the northern boundaries of the countries about the Cabul river. From this range most of the tributaries of the Cabul river descend, and it gives the country its prominent features. We must look at it therefore more closely.

At the western extremities of the first eastern half of the Indian Caucasus, a high tract of mountains stretches down to the valley of the Cabul river; its southern extremity from the northern bank is thrown opposite to the Sefidkoh, (in the Afghan language *Spin Gur*), viz. white mountain, which rises on the southern bank of the river; this southern end is the high snow-clad peak, Kooner, very nearly approaching to the valley of the river. We shall give this transversal range the name of the Kanda mountains, as they were probably called so in the native language. The whole of the countries about the Cabul river are equally divided by them into regions of a totally different character, the western and the eastern.

To know the boundaries of the country under consideration, we must recur to Kohi-Baba. Hence extends a high mountain tract to the south. Though no remarkable hills, no table heights are mentioned as existing among them, yet the course of the streams would range in their favour. The Hilmund and Urghandab descend from that mountain tract in a southern direction to the basin of the Zareh; the Ghazna runs to the north-eastward, and joins the Cabul river, flowing to the south-east.

South-westward from Cabul there lie, says Sultan Baber,\* “high snow-clad mountains, and the Bamian chain (Kohi-Baba) is of an extreme height. The Hirmand, the Sind,† the Doghabeh, Kunduz, and the Balkh rivers all rise at their culminating point, and one may, it is said, drink on the same day out of the sources of all these rivers.”

These are the natural boundaries of the countries of Cabul towards the west.

From the mountain tract, where Ghuznee lies southward from Cabul, to the Sefidkoh, already mentioned (which may be considered as the most northern branch of the Soliman mountains, running from the north towards south) the valley of the Cabul river is bordered by hills of less height and regularity. They have not received any general name, and but small bodies of water descend from them, as they are not high enough to be continually covered with snow.

Looking again from the Sefidkoh to the point projected from the south of the Kanda mountains, we have the confines of the western half of the Cabul countries. The valley of the river, narrowed by the Sefidkoh and Kooner, appears like a rocky gate between the west and the east of the countries through which the river forces its way, over cliffs and down rapids, while from Sefidkoh the Tira chain of hills with its ramifications extend eastward to the Indus. The Salt range, so called, commencing from the same point, runs south-easterly to the same river, which it reaches at Karabag; the Tira chain rises from the south over the plains of the Cabul river.

Thus once more gaining the Indus, we have compassed the whole extent of the Cabul countries, the natural boundary of which towards the east is that river.

The eastern half of these lands may be called the *inner*, as may the western half, the *outer* boundary of India.

To understand the articulation of each of these boundaries, we must look closely to the rivers.

The Cabul river, which rises at the foot of the Kohi-Baba,

\* Memoir, p. 282, German translation.

† A mistake, it must be the Cabul or Gurbund.



and flowing from Cabul itself in an almost direct line, joins the Indus at Attok, forms as it were the bond, by which the various members of these geographical divisions are connected, and proves their inseparable unity.

From the high mountains to the north there run to the banks of the Cabul river many streams in valleys, which are either distinct, or connected with others; each of these valleys, and in an inferior degree every lateral valley, forms an independent district, and hence the various articulation of the whole.

With regard to these valleys, which we may call after their rivers, all the streams having the most easterly direction, viz. the Abbasin, which is furthest east, and the Burrindu, a little more to the west, flow into the upper Indus, without passing through the Cabul districts.

More to the westward rises the Sewad, into the valley of which river that of the Penjkora runs from the west, while the Bagar from the south-eastern declivity of the Kanda mountains joins the united Sewad and Penjkora. In the latest map (by Burnes) the three united rivers are called Lundye, which having passed Hashnagara, disembogues into the Cabul river.

These valleys, descending in terraces towards the Cabul and the Indus, form the mountainous country of the inner boundary of India to the north-west, to which also belongs the plain above the valleys on the banks of the river, as well as the northern declivity of the Tira chain, before mentioned. The plain is hot low land, already manifesting a completely Indian character; Peshawur in the centre of this plain is situated on the banks of the river. The northern districts of the valley form landscapes of a genuinely Alpine character, adorned with all the luxuriant beauty of an almost tropical mountainous country.

Now between the eastern and western extent of the Cabul country lie the Kanda mountains, with the Sefidkoh as a high wall of separation, which cannot be appropriated to either of those districts. From the central point, whence it spreads its ramifications from the Hindookush to the southward, another high elevation rises, the Belut Tag, which extends in a circle NNE. to the Mustag, and forms, as it were, the northern

continuation of the Kanda range. From its north-eastern extremity, the Pushtigur, a river now called Kameh, gushes rapidly southwards, and forces its way between the Cooner and the Nurgil in the Cabul valley, almost opposite to Jelalabad. This narrow and almost impervious valley rises like a long narrow gateway in a northerly direction; on the north side of the Pushtigur the streams already flow to the Oxus. The Kameh valley supplies but few accommodations for trade with the north, it is little accessible from the plain of the Cabul, it is rather a wall of separation to the east and the west of the whole country along the river.

From Sefidkoh a valley of a more remarkable character opens towards the Cabul river, through which the Soorkhrood, ("the red river,") flows.

Just above Jelalabad the boundaries between the warm low lands of the east and the cooler highlands of the west, are determined; this little district of Jelalabad, on the river Cabul and the stream formed by the junction of the Kameh, and the Soorkhrood, may represent the gate, through which we enter the outer boundary of India.

Cabul lies almost in the centre of this boundary, and is at least in a historical and political point of view, the centre point of the country. In her neighbourhood, rivers from the south-west, the west, the north-west, and north, unite and form the main river, which has obtained the name of the town. At this spot open the great roads, whether for peace or for war, between Iran and Turan on the one hand, and India on the other. It is a situation, possessed of inexhaustible importance, as the whole history of southern Asia bears witness.

Looking on the subject in detail, we find, that due west of the lofty Kanda hills the valley Laghman splits in two, forming those of Alishung and Alingar, and opens towards the Cabul river.\* More to the west the valley of Tugow is traversed by a river of the same name, not far below the disemboгуing of the Panjhir. This river takes three united streams into the Cabul, namely, itself, the Gurbend, and the Nijrow, which

\* Elphinstone, i. 160.

all descend from the Hindookush through main valleys, in which less considerable bodies of water are discharged, giving the effect of the fibrous ramification of a leaf in the union of these river valleys. The Gurbend, rising in the western range of the Hindookush, flows to the east, the Panjhir from north to south, while the Nijrow runs in a south-western direction to the Panjhir. The district above the junction of the three rivers, is called the Kohistan, the highlands of Cabul, a beautiful Alpine country, not inferior to that of Penjkora, and Sewad; below that junction extends the more even country of Kohdâman, "the skirt of the mountain." This variously ramified system of valleys includes the passes, which lead from Cabul itself, over lofty mountains, winding upwards through their vallies in ramifications, either westward to Bamian under the Kohi-Baba, or northward over the Hindookush, to Anderab and the higher north. There are altogether seven or eight of these.

On the southern boundaries of this western district of the Cabul we have to notice the valley of the river Ghuznee, which leads to the town of the same name, lying on a rugged lofty plain, the ancient seat of mighty dominion.

Hence goes the road to the river valleys of Arachosia, descending westwards.

The plain of the valley of the Cabul river, before it reaches Jelalabad, lies in a situation so much higher than that of the lower part of the river, that the climate and products are as different from those of Peshawur, as are the products of loftily placed, and frigid Ghuznee from those of Cabul.

As the outer boundary constitutes a gradual approach to the inner one, so is it in relation to India Proper. Cabul is one of the most beautiful countries of the earth, highly praised by Sultan Baber, warm in virtue of its southern situation, and the protection afforded by the mountains towards the north, and at the same time cooled by reason of its height above the level of the sea.

This very succinct description was specially intended to call to mind the following facts.

First.—That the natural road to India passes through western Cabulistan, whether we start from Arachosia, from Aria (Herat)



or from Bactria, the paths from the northern and central Asia meet here.

Secondly.—It must not be forgotten, that the districts along the Cabul river have a tendency to resolve themselves into petty states and national confederacies, unless a vigorous hand sways the sceptre within the country. The country does not only separate of itself into an eastern and western division, but, if circumstances admit, small independent powers may also maintain themselves in the valleys of the northern tributaries of the main river.

Thirdly.—Supposing such a state of disorganization to exist, each of these little river districts will seek its centre in itself, and create a petty capital. However, in a state of well ordered union, some particular *foci* of intercourse along the course of the main-road, about Peshawur for the eastern, and Cabul for the western Cabulistan, about Jelalabad, as connecting both, and for intercourse with the Kameh valley—lastly, at the entrance into the passes over the Hindookush on the low lands round Beghram—must be formed by the course of mercantile transactions. To render these relations quite evident, we may observe, that the peculiar architectural monuments of the country, the topes, are grouped round those four mentioned places, Peshawur in the valleys of the Khyher tribes, Jelalabad at Soorkhrood, Cabul itself, and, lastly, at the foot of the mountain district round Beghram.

For the purpose of giving a sketch of the historical accounts of this country, we may commence by observing, that we must especially keep in view accounts as to the national characteristics of those people, without engaging in a complete inquiry into the passages of the ancient geographers. We shall postpone this to a more appropriate place, and besides, there exists already a very thorough examination of this kind by an eminent geographer.\*

By way of beginning on a safe basis, let us commence with the celebrated campaign of Alexander the Great.

\* Carl Ritter on the campaign of Alexander the Great in the Indian Caucasus (in den Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie aus dem Jahre 1829, p. 137.

He found these countries and nations in the state which must have subsisted during the whole period of the Achæmenides; for the rulers of Persepolis in succession to Darius, the son of Hystapes, who perhaps exercised a more vigorous authority, were satisfied with the attendance of those remote nations in the field on occasion of war, and with the regular transmission of tribute; they did not disturb the tribes in their national customs and institutions, though they were powerful enough to check the violent inroads of the northern hordes, by whose success national characteristics were afterwards introduced of a totally novel description.

When Alexander after having subdued the Drangges and Arachosians set out for Bactria, he encountered Indians for the first time.\* Having subdued them, he reaches the Caucasus, and founded on its skirt an Alexandria, the situation of which, according to the careful examinations of Mr. Masson† must be most probably looked for near Beghram. The Indians above alluded to, therefore inhabited the highlands, which separate the streams running to the Helmund, from the tributaries of the Cabul. Strabo calls those Indians *Paropamisades*, but uses, however, as he often does, an inaccurate term, when he states, that Alexander had penetrated to the Arachosians through the Paropamisades.‡ The passage through their country during the winter season was difficult on account of the large quantity of snow, but it abounded with villages and provisions for the army; it was the highland westwards from Cabul.

We again follow the march of Alexander, when returning to Alexandria Sub-Caucaso; he passes for the second time the Hindookush, the town is then called Alexandria in Paropamisades.§ These Indians are therefore obviously called by a peculiar name, after the mountains, viz. *Paropamisades*, the name of the mountains which they inhabited, being partly Paropamisus,|| and partly Caucasus, and this name refers as well to

\* Arr. III. 28.

† As. T. V. p. 6.

‡ XV. Ariana, § 10.

§ Arr. IV. 22.

|| Ptolemy, more correctly Paropanisus; it is the country under the mountains, which are called Nishada in Indian geography. That the ancient geographers have assigned the name Paropamisus to the more western mountains, we are not authorized to assert.---(Lassen).

the Hindookush itself, as to its western parts, the Kōhi-Baba, and the lower ranges, which at the lower extremity are protended in a westerly direction. With the nation of the Paropamisades must also be numbered those tribes, who inhabit the valleys of the northern tributaries of the Cabul, viz. of the Gurbend, Panjhir, and Nijrow; for Alexander formed a new Satrapy out of the districts of the Paropamisades, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης (χώρας) ἐς τε ἐς τὸν Κωφῆνα ποταμόν.

The Kōphen is not,\* however, as might be supposed, the Panjhir, with his two tributaries; for by starting from Alexandria, which upon this conjecture must have been situated at the Kōphen, one would come first to this river; we find in Pliny† “ab ea (Alexandria) ad flumen Copheta, et oppidum Indorum *Peucolaitin* CCXXVII.” Whether Peucolaitis be correct here or not, is besides the question. The Kōphen evidently is, we may say, the united Ghuznee and Cabul rivers, and the Satrapy of the Paropamisades is the Kohistan and Kohdâman of the present geography of Cabul, together with the mountain vallies on their western boundaries.

Till the arrival of Alexander at the river Choes, Arrian (vi. 23) uses no other names (than the above); the intermediate country to the junction of the Choes (Kameh) with the Cabul, may therefore have belonged to the Satrapy, not the nation, of the Paropamisades‡

Strabo§ says, “near the Indus there are the Paropamisades, above the heads of whom the mountain Paropamisus rises.”

\* Arr. III. 22.

† VI. 21.

‡ Pliny vi. 23 ‘says’ “some authors still add to India the four Satrapies, Gedrosia, Arachosia, the Arians, and Paropamisades ‘ultimo fine Cophete fluvio.’ Is now the Cōphen the extreme boundary of India with the addition of the Paropamisades? This would be an absurdity, and Pliny does not recollect, that by adding the Paropamisades to India, he had not to describe the remotest confines of the Paropamisades toward India, but the boundary of India, enlarged towards the west. He has therefore retained the boundary of the Alexandrian Satrapy of the Paropamisades, at the same time, that he gave it up. The reason upon which those Satrapies were numbered with India, was an incidental one, viz. the cession to Sandrokyptos by Seleucus Nicator.

§ I. 1. § 9.



But this is to be accounted for by a similar negligence in expression, as Strabo sometimes commits. He afterwards places certain nations between the Paropamisades and the Indus, which is a striking contradiction.

The following statement of Strabo is of far greater importance. According to him, the whole country between the Indian sea in the south, and the Paropamisus and Caucasus on the north, the Indus in the east, and Karmania, Persia, and Media, in the west, is an immense square, which is comprehended under the general name Ariana; the Gedrosians, Arachosians, Paropamisades, in parallel layers are superimposed one on another. We shall not dispute the systematical regularity of this view, in favour of which the Paropamisades are extended to the Indus. Ptolemy, who distributes in the same manner these nations, and defines more correctly the boundaries of the Paropamisades, does not use this general term, nor does it occur in the narratives of Macedonian history. Strabo has perhaps got it from the Parthian and Bactrian history by Apollodoros. It is true, he says, that the name Ariana likewise refers to some tribes of the Persians, Medians, Sogdians, and Bactrians, or, (to apply here our modern information), that the ancient name Aarja of the Arians, was also in use with the four principal nations of Iran, before mentioned, but he distinctly places between the western and northern Iran, properly thus called, and India lying more to east, his Ariana, as a separate division, as an intermediate country, in which the nationalities balanced towards both directions, and were neither of a marked Indian nor Iranian character. But more precise investigation would certainly prove, that his view, concerning such a great nation, forming a transition from the Persians to the Indians, though it generally were correct, still must be defined more correctly in various points of view, to bear upon the different divisions (of that nation). The Airjana of the Zendavesta, however like in name, has certainly nothing in common with this Ariana, though many be pleased to confound them.

We must hereafter take up again the thread of the inquiry, what situation between the Indians and Persians the Paropamisades have occupied?

Alexander, after having arrived at the Choes (Kameh) commences on the western bank of the Indus his campaign against the nations, in a strict sense here already called Indians. They are named by Arrian, numbering them from west to east, Aspasiens, Guraeans, and Assacaniens.\* Strabo styles the nation, first mentioned, Hippasians,† and substitutes for the Choes the Choaspes, which disembogues into the Kophen (§ 26) and which therefore cannot be, as it occurs upon the map of Ritter, another name for the Kophen. Aspa is a term, alluding to Persian language, and Choaspes (qazpa) is the river of beautiful horses; there is an evident reference of the nation with the river, and they probably lived on its banks. Alexander first marched upwards to the Choes. Πορευθεὶς δὲ παρὰ τὸν Χόην καλούμενον ποταμὸν ὀρεινὴν τε ὁδὸν καὶ τραχεῖαν, καὶ τοῦτον διαβὰς χάλεπῶς, κ. τ. λ.

He reduces there two towns, the second of which was called Andaka, he then proceeds to the river Euaspla. Καὶ διελθὼν πολλὴν ὁδὸν, δευτερεῖος ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν.

After having taken this, he passes over the mountains to Arigaeum.‡ I must here depart in view from our celebrated geographer Mr. Ritter, who thinks Euaspla to be the Choes, but it must be a tributary of the Choes which Alexander touched, διελθὼν πολλὴν ὁδὸν, and after he had already marched into the Kameh valley. Alexander first left this lateral valley of the Kameh, when setting out for Arigaeum. Euaspla now is partly a Greek translation, (εὐ-ασπλα perhaps εὐ-ασπης) of Choaspes (hu,gut Sanscrit svhazpa-quzpa).

Strabo by taking the Choaspes for the Choes, viz. the smaller for the larger river, has confounded both of them, while Arrian separately mentions them. Choaspes, or Euaspla, probably is the Seesha upon Mr. Elphinstone's map.§

\* IV. 23.

† XV. § 17. § 27.

‡ Arr. IV. 24.

§ I am under the necessity here also to contradict the excellent historian of Alexander the Great, Mr. Droysen. The point at issue is especially the following passage of Strabo, § 26. Ἀλέξανδρος—ἐπίστρεψεν—καὶ τὸν Κώφην ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν Χοάσπην, ὅς εἰς τὸν

The Aspasians probably are the same with the Azvazeelas of the ancient Indian geography, who are neighbours of the Kambôjas, fighting on horseback.

The Guraans are the inhabitants of the valley at the river Guraeus, (Arr. iv, 25) the Penjkora, into the valley of which Alexander descended near Arigaeum; the Guraeus, according to Arrian, retains this name to its disemboing into the Cabul, while Ptolemy only mentions the Sewad, the Suastus. Gorydale was probably situated just at its very disemboing.

The Assacanians in their towns Massaga and Ora had their abode between the Guraeus and the Indus.\* From them there are distinguished the Astacanians, who are no doubt justly taken for the subjects of Astes, the ruler of Peucala, the district on both banks of the Indus, above the disemboing of the Kophen.† According to Ptolemy, the Gandarians inhabit this country, who live therefore on the northern bank of the Kophen, while Strabo relates of the Gandaritis, living on both bank of the Kophen; he follows here the native view, according to which Gandhara denotes the country from Peshawur to the Indus.

The Massianians, mentioned by Strabo, are too insignificant to be inquired into, and we shall leave it to others to deal with

Κώφην ἐμβάλλει ποταμὸν, καὶ κατὰ Πληγήριον πόλιν ῥυεῖς παρὰ Γωρυδάλην πόλιν, καὶ διεξὼν τὴν τε Βανδοβηνὴν καὶ τὴν Γανδαρίτιν.

Mr. Droysen says (history of Alex. p. 376) we need only to omit καὶ preceding Πληγήριον to find every thing correct. Now if the sense, not the syntax alone must be in accordance, ὅς and ῥυεῖς and διεξὼν would be referred in this case to the Choaspes, disemboing upon this conjecture through the Gandaritis into the Indus, i. e. the Choaspes would do what is due to the Kophen, which Strabo himself mentions as the main river. There consequently is also a confusion in the views of Strabo, an unprecise understanding of the reports, and the words following ἐμβάλλει ποταμὸν are indeed to be referred to the Kophen. Hence it follows, that Plegierium, Gorydale are towns, and that the districts Bando bene and Gandaritis to the disemboing of the Kophen into the Indus successively are met with.

\* Arr. IV. 26 Ind. I. Strabo, XV. § 27.

† Droysen, history of Alex. p. 374.



the fabulous Nysaeans. We have mentioned every important fact for our purpose by adding, that Alexander did not touch the southern bank of the Kophen, since he was informed, that it was not fertile, as the beautiful land of Alps in the north.\* We therefore meet between the Paropamisades and the Indus a series of independent, warlike mountaineers, under their chieftains, separated into many smaller tribes, rich in flocks and herds; they are always called Indians, though no mention is made of either institutions characteristic of India, nor of Brahmins. This is doubtless correct; for they were inhabitants of the Indian frontier, not exactly regulated by Indian customs, outcasts of the soldier caste, as Indians might term them.

As mention has been made of the Gandarians, we are allowed to combine these accounts with those, long before given by Herodotus. The Gandarians he mentions, must be the same with those now under consideration. Darius also enumerates them among the number of the nations under his sway. Herodotus does not mention the general name of the Paropamisades, but only single tribes, among whom the Sattagydes perhaps belong to the Paropamisades of a later period.†

In these accounts the national discrepancies between eastern and western Cabulistan appears most evident, the western half belonging to the Paropamisades, the eastern to India.

Ptolemy's accounts are contemporaneous with a period referred to in some of the coins; the additional value his information thus acquires, is enhanced by constant perspicuity of detail and expression.

He considers the (Κῶαῖ) Koas (VII. I.) as the main river, as it indeed has a much longer course than the Cabul or Cophen, which stream is not mentioned at all. Hence according to him, the Koas disembogues into the Indus, and the Suatus (in the Indian language Zubhavastu, the Sewad) into the Koas. He knows the sources of the latter in the mountains of the high north, which he calls the mountains of the Komedes.

Under the sources at the Koas there live the Lambagæ,

\* Strabo, XV. 26.

† Old Persian arrow-headed inscriptions, p. 110.

(Lampatæ) whose hilly district extends to the mountains of the Komedes, hence up the valley of the Kameh and into the Caucasus over the Pengkora or Guræus, a country of wide extent, while in Sanscrit *Lampaka* denotes only the inhabitants of the valley Lamghan, on the western side of the Kameh valley. Ptolemy's authority gives us evidence, that the restriction of that name (Lamghan) is of a more modern date, and that the derivation of the name from Lamech, according to Sultan Baber's conjecture, is a wholly vicious etymology. The peculiar Lamghani language, prevailing in this mountain valley, together with the language of the inhabitants of the higher Kameh valley and the Indian Caucasus, viz. of the Kafirs, thus called, is an Indian dialect, and the separation of the Lamghanians and Kafirs into different nations, as is the case in Cabul, is not founded upon any original national discrepancy.

According to Ptolemy, the Koas is the most western river of India, however, he does not consider it as the boundary river, but in his opinion, the confines between India and the country of the Paropamisades are the meridian, in which the sources of the Oxus\* are included; he places them one degree more to the west than the Koas, and therefore according to him, a district westward from the Koas still belongs to India, which as it appears, is inhabited by the Lambagæ, *he* (Ptolemy) mentions; for the present Lamghan is included in the very same district to which Ptolemy has assigned no other inhabitants. These national boundaries almost completely coincide with the political demarcation between the Satrapies of Alexander, viz. between that of the Paropamisades and of the Upper India.

Looking to eastern Cabulistan, we observe, the district Suastene lies, according to Ptolemy, at the sources of the Suastus; it is therefore the same that Elphinstone has called Upper Sewad.

He places the situation of the country Goryaea (*Γορυαία*) below the Lambagæ and Suastene. This is the district between the Bagur and the Pengkora, and on the other hand, that to the Lundy, in the north of the Cabul river to the mountains, which include the Kameh from the east.

\* VI. 18.

The name Goryaea is therefore used by Ptolemy, as it appears in a more comprehensive sense, than the name of the nation of the Guræi is ordinarily used by the ancient (geographers). The evident carefulness with which Ptolemy always proceeds in the applications of names, renders it not improbable, that he had good reasons in using that name in a more comprehensive sense. Goryaea (perhaps Gârjâ in the language of that country,\*) seems indeed to point to an expression like *Kohdaman* in our days, (west from the Kandar hills,) the mountain district below the highest ranges of the snow-clad peaks.

Ptolemy places between the Suastus and the Indus, the Gandarians, to whom the town Proklais (Poklais) is appropriated; here then the Gandarians are restricted to the northern bank of the Cabul river; for Proklais is the *Peukela* of the ancients, and the *Pushkala* of the Indian geography; according to Strabo the Kophen still runs through the Gandaritis. The dominion of the Gandarians, as it appears, is therefore restricted to the northern mountain valleys, and Ptolemy is instrumental himself in explaining this. In describing the extent of the Indo-Scythian empire, he observes, that its main part is situated along both banks of the Indus, but he also places Indo-Scythian towns just in the country along the lower part of the Cabul river, i. e. just in the old seats of the Gandarians. Among them Artoartar appears even to be the capital or the royal camp of the horde. Artoartar is there a foreign word, and arta reminds one rather of the Parthian than of Scythian elements of the language, it is the *ârta* of the names Artaxerxes, Ardeshir, &c. But since upon Scythian coins *Athro* and *Ardethro*, consequently Persian names of Gods are observed, it is no wonder, that we meet likewise in their towns with elements of Iran.† Artoartar having

\* From *gari*, in Sanscrit *giri*, mountain, Zend *gairi*; there consequently perhaps *gari*. The modern word in Affghanian language is *gur*, but hence it does not follow, that Goryaea must be derived from that language.

† Artoartar 121° 30', 31° 15'. Nagara 121° 30', 32° 30'. Divertigium Coae ad Paropamisades 121° 30', 33° 0' the juncture of the Cabul and Kameh, Nagora and Artoartar were therefore situated in the same meridian. But since the course of the Indus as well as the country bordering to it is displaced much too far towards east and west, the real situation of those three places cannot be looked for in the same meridian.



been ascertained as a town of the Scythians in the country of the lower part of the Cabul river, gives evidence, that the Gandarians had at that period no longer the dominion in their native country, and it offers itself the conjecture, that an independent power of the Gandarians maintained itself only round Peukela. Of the towns which Ptolemy still mentions as lying in these Indian confines, *Νάγαρα ἢ καὶ Διονυσόπολις* is especially notable, *Nagara*, a genuine Indian word, is the name of the town, it therefore probably had with the Indians the meaning of the principal town of this district. The term "*town of Dionysos*," cannot be attributed but to the Greeks, who full of the expedition of Bacchus to India, thought, that they recognised even in this town the vestiges of his energies. If Ptolemy has correctly fixed its situation, it would lie opposite to the mouth of the Kameh. As, however, the whole country is assigned another position in geography, this only is certain in the statement of Ptolemy, that *Nagara* was situated on the southern bank of the Cabul river, not far from Jelalabad. Below *Nagara* there follow four more towns, assigned to Indo-Scythia, *Nagara* itself is not numbered among them.

When we now turn to Ptolemy's description of western Cabulistan, this is, in his opinion, the country of the Paropamisades.\* The eastern boundaries toward outer India are already defined; Jelalabad and Lamghan belong to India. Bactria borders it in the north, the natural confines there being the Hindookush; in the south is Arachosia, from which the Paropamisades are separated by mountains under the name *Παριῆται*. Mr. Ritter asserts, probably correctly, that they begin at Sefdkoh, and extend to the table land of Ghuznee†. It is indeed a very general term, *parvata*, mountain, and the name recurs for the northern tribe of the Arachosians, viz. *Παργυῆται*; as it is the same name, so it is undoubtedly the same nation, the mountaineers on the right bank of the Ghuznee river. Ptolemy supposed these mountains to extend from east to west, while they run south-west. He fancies, as does Strabo on the authority of

\* \* VI. 18.

† See the map to the essay above mentioned.

Eratosthenes, that the country is a square, and on this supposition he defines the place of the different nations. The *Cabolitæ* live according to him, towards the north, namely in the valleys of the Gurbend and Panjhir; the town *Ortospana* or *Cabura* in the centre of the country (which is certainly identical with the modern Cabul), supplies their name. The *Aristophyli*, a Greek name, have their abode in a westerly direction towards Aria; we must look for them below the Kohi-Baba. Further down are seated the *Pabii*, or after another reading, the *Parsii*; the *Ambautæ*, lastly, live in the east, and are therefore the neighbours of the Lamghani; this name has likewise turned out useless, and we cannot draw any conclusion from it.

It is strange, that Ptolemy does not mention the tributaries of the Cabul river in this part of Cabulistan, it is said, at least he does not; however, the river *Γωβρύας*, into which another dis-embogues, is probably the Gurbend, and the nameless river is perhaps the Cabul itself, the Kophen of old, of which there is made no mention.

Of the names of towns, Cabura has been already touched on; traces of the town of Alexander have disappeared at this place, and it is difficult to look for it under another name among those that Ptolemy noticed; but we shall still make especial mention of one among them. *Artoartar* recurs here, as it were to show us the old seats of the Scythians, from which they started for the Indus. It lies in a north westerly direction from Kabura, and just in the mountains, where the passes lead from the sources of the Cabul river to Bamian.

In the statement of Ptolemy it appears much more distinctly than in those of the Macedonian period, that eastern and western Cabulistan were likewise, in a national point of view, separated into two equal divisions, almost consentaneous with their natural boundaries; the western half belonged to that nation, whose separate tribes are comprehended under the general name of the Paropamisades; the eastern is numbered with the Indians; but the plain at the lower part of the river is now under the power of the Indo-Scythians, and perhaps only Nagara, and the Gandarians give the appearance of independent Indian nationality. It is a great loss, that Ptolemy does not furnish us with

any information on the political statutes of western Cabulistan. Upon these, as well as upon the national relations, a much clearer light is thrown by those accounts, of which we shall presently make use. We allude to the reports, given by the Buddhist Chinese travellers, which are contained in Abel Rémusat's posthumous work, so important to Indian geography.\*

There are three such reports, the most ancient of which is, however, alone completely published. First, the report of Fahian, who in the year 400 A. D. made a pilgrimage to India.† Secondly, that of Soung Yuntse and Hoeiseng, who in the beginning of the sixth century were in India.‡ Lastly, the report of Hiuan Tshang, who came to India about the year 632 A. D.

As these travellers were Buddhists, and pilgrims to the holy places of their belief, this religious purpose is the prevailing subject in their narrations, and they omit many things on which it would have been of far greater importance to us to obtain information. But their narratives, as given by eye-witnesses, are invaluable, and we observe no trace of their having told what was not reported to them, or what they did not see, or imagine they saw. Their estimates of distances, when referring to extended measurements are indistinct and exaggerated; fortunately they mention so often places easily to be recognised, that we can generally set ourselves right without difficulty in the countries they have enumerated.

But if I now venture to differ in many instances, as to the interpretation of these Chinese narratives, from Abel Rémusat and his two successors, Klaproth and Landresse, as well as from our celebrated geographer Mr. Ritter, I have briefly (for the detailed exposition of this Chino-Indian geography must be reserved for another place) to vindicate my deviations.

Rémusat first of all displaces and alters the situation of all the countries of western India by supposing, that the Indian district *Gandhara* is the same with Kandahar (in Sanscrit *Kandadhara*.) Then, according to him, Fahian visits *Tchuchachilo* or *Tant-*

\* Foe Koueki, &c.

† p. 3.

‡ p. 354.



*chachilo*, which the Chinese, however, only described by hearsay ; and as Fahian does not mention his having gone there over the Indus from the west, Rémusat inferred, that the situation of *Tantchachilo* must be on the western bank ; but it is in fact the *Taxila*, (*Takshazila* of the Indians) between the Indus and Hydaspes, Rémusat was therefore under the necessity of displacing all the districts of the western Indian frontier, too far westerly. We may again trace, in the report of Hoeisang, the confusion of Gandhara with Candahar, and the river *Southeou*, which is but the Indus (with Fahian *Sintheou*) is removed to Kandahar. I undertake to prove these assertions good in all their details, if their correctness be disputed.

I shall now state, with regard to every province, the grounds on which its situation is fixed.

*Udjána*, *Outchang*, as it is called by the Chinese, according to Prâcrit form, *Ujjanâ*, (garden, park) is bordered by the Indus to the east ;\* the name of the capital is *Mengholi*, (*Mangala*, the fortunate), and it is probably situated in the valley of the river *Souphofasoutou*, as they call it, or of the Zubhavastoo, the Sewad, or Suastus. Fahian mentions, however, not by name two other rivers, probably the Penjkora and the Bagur. If Rémusat says, the country was bordered by Kandahar in the west,† we observe in the original *Kiantolo*, (or *Gandhara*). This has lead Mr. Ritter to the mistake of looking for Udjuna near Jelalabad,‡ but it lies to the northward from Gandhara, therefore on the northern side of the Cabul river.§

We extract the following notices from the copious collection of Chinese narratives published by Rémusat. The name is said to have been given to the country by an Indian king of old, who was wont to hunt here ; it was his park. Baber also used often to hunt here. Besides the Buddhists, there also resided here a number of Brahmins, who were much devoted to astrological inquiries.

Buddha is said not to have advanced beyond this. Here we still find Indian letters, and an Indian dialect, but no where

\* Fahian, p. 45. Hiuan Thsang, p. 380.

† p. 46.

‡ Erdkunde, VII. p. 289.

§ Foek, p. 379.

beyond, i. e. towards the north, where the Caucasus forms the natural separation of the nations. But Hiuan Thsang says, perhaps with more exactitude of definition, that the language is Indian, though with some deviations.\* Udjana is many times mentioned as an independent empire in the Chinese annals between the years 400 and 642 A. D.

The little principality Suhoto was situated southward from Udjana, and westward from Kiantola beyond the river (Cabul), if one set out for it from Kiantolo.† This definition is not very clear, it must be about the country within the angle between the Kameh and Cabul, on the northern bank of the latter. Kiantolo (or *Kianthovei*) is bounded on the east by the Indus,‡ the situation of the town *Foe-chafou* was in a westerly direction, three journeys distant from the Indus. (p. 355) Westward thence was the town Kiantolo, with the tower of the king Kanishka; the same town is also called *Poulouchapoulo*, or *Foe-Leoucha*, and *Paloucha* seems to be a variety of *Foechafou*. North-eastward fifty *lis* beyond the Cabul river (about fifteen miles), there was situated the town *Pousecolofati*, (or Pushkalavati,) the district attached to the town Peukela on the Indus, the *Peukelaotis* of ancient writers. The way from the Indus to Peshawur is estimated to be three journeys;§ in this town we recognise *Foechafou*. This country is the Gandaritis of the ancients, the Ghandhâra of the Indians, and the concurrent testimony of the Chinese narratives does not at all admit its being extended to Kandahar. The capital, the name of which in the Indian language perhaps was Purushapura, *town of men*, *town of heroes*, is to be looked for, it appears, in the country of Khybers. There is yet a tope, larger and more splendid than that of Manikyâla,|| but this can hardly be the tower of the king Kanishka.

Fahian describes *Foeloucha* as an independent little state; the repetition of the same account proves, that the capital of Kiantolo, and the town *Purushapura*, and this *Foeloucha* of the

\* Foek, p. 381.

† Foek K, p. 64. p. 45 p. 355.

‡ p. 379.

§ Tieffenthaler's description of Hindoostan, 1. p. 46.

|| As. Trans. III. 327. VI. 879.

three reports is the very same with the tower of the king Kanishka. From Peshawur Fabian takes a southern, Hoeseng a western direction to arrive there, the Khyber mountains lying to the southwest.

This *Parushapura* is the same from which Remusat, and after him Mr. Ritter\* presumed to infer, that the *Belujens*, strong favourers of Buddhism, already existed at that time. I do not know whether Mr. Ritter will allow these Belujens of his to break a lance with a critic.

From *Foeloucha* westward to Nakie there are sixteen jôanas.† Hiuan Thsang corrects the name into *Nakoloho*; he comes there from *Lampho* (or Lamghan), crossing the great river (Cabul); it is a distance of 100 lis, or a little more than five geographical miles.‡ *Nakoloho* lies in the valley of the river *Hilo*, where is the town Hilo, one (geographical) mile from the capital, a mountain is also called *Hilo*, at which *Nakoloho* was situated. (p. 86. p. 54)

This river on the southern bank of the Cabul cannot well be any other than the Soorkhrood, and we must look for the town *Nakoloho* at the mouth of the stream in Balabagh. The Buddhist monuments, said to be near *Hilo*, are the same with those on the Soorkhrood from Balabagh to Jelalabad. (As. Trans. III, p. 325.)

I imagine I recognise the river *Hilo* in the Hir of the map of Danville and Rennel, at the junction of which with the Nilab, the town Nagar is situated; there is another river Hir to be accounted for in accordance with the different narratives, which is said to pass the town of Cabul. If now *Hilo* certainly be the same name, *Nakoloho* also appears with the same certainty a Chinese paraphrase for Nagara.

This leads us again to the Nagara of Ptolemy, which must needs be situated westward from the curvature of the Kameh river. On account of the evident similarity of the names the conjecture will be admitted, that his Nagara is not different

\* Erd. VII. 678.

† p. 85.

‡ p. 378. The five miles must be taken from the places nearest to both banks of the river.



from *Nakoloho*. His Artoartar might coincide with the town *Purushapura* of the Chinese.

For *Hilo*, and *Nakoloho*, (or *Hir* and *Nagara*) another supposition is possible, the correctness of which I have not the means of deciding. If namely, near Jelalabad, itself a tributary, falls into the Cabul, this might be the *Hir*, and *Nagar*, the Jelalabad. The name *Hir*, however, leads of itself to Soorkhrood, (red river) if the Indian word *hiranga*, (gold, of gold colour,) may be recognised in it, and besides in the latest descriptions of Cabulistan, no other notable river, except the Soorkhab\* is made mention of. The architectural monuments of this country, moreover, which commence at Balabagh, are not discovered more than four (English) miles beyond Jelalabad. This circumstance, and the fact, that Lamghan lies opposite, led me look for a higher situation for *Nagara* on the banks of the river.

*Nakie* in the year 628 A. D. was subjected to the empire *Kiapiche* on the Gurbend, it was the boundary district between Gandhara and western Cabulistan.† The town was sixteen jôanas from the capital of Gandhara, or, according to others, fifty *lis* in a northerly direction from it beyond the mountains,‡ a distance of about twenty-five geographical miles. Tieffenthaler estimates the way from Soorkhab to Jelalabad at twenty-four (miles), and the capital of Ghandara cannot have had a much more eastern situation than Jelalabad. The way of Hiuan Thsang, however, did not follow the river, but the mountains, and it was perhaps more direct.

To set ourselves right in western Cabulistan as to the Chinese description of it, we must begin with Hiuan Thsang's entrance from the north into the country. He goes from Bamian eastward over the snow-clad mountains, then over those, called *The Black*, and is then in the country *Kiapiche*; the distance is not stated, but as the town *Kiapiche* lies in the mountains, he has probably gone from Bamian only into the next valley towards

\* M. Court conjectures "sur les marches d'Alexandre," p. 28. elle (la rivière de Kabool) entre alors dans la vallée de Djelalabad, où elle recoit d'abord les eaux du Sourkhab, qui vient du Canton de Peiver et ensuite celles de Khonar (Kameh) qui a sa source dans le Kaferistan.

† Foe K. p. 89.

‡ Hiuan, Thsang, p. 379.

the east. A pass leads in an easterly direction from Bamian into the valley of Gurbend; Baber has described this defile; \* I refer for this to the corrected map of Burnes; 200 *lis* northwards from the capital are the great snowy mountains, consequently the Hindookush, so that the capital cannot be Cabul, as Mr. Landresse conjectures. It was then (632 A. D.) an independent empire, to which some neighbouring states were subjected; we know this fact already of *Nakie*. There was the old kingdom of the Gandharas, not perhaps of the Indians, but of the Scythians, who took afterwards possession of the Indian Gandhara. Ptolemy places the town *Kapisa* two and a half degrees northwards from *Kabura*, and Pliny, † (VI. 25. 23) when numbering the countries westward from the Indus says, “a proximis Indo gentibus montana Capissene habuit Capissam urbem, quam diruit Cyrus.”

It is undoubtedly the *Kiapiche* of the Chinese.

This district is indeed not assigned to India, but most of the places, the names of which are cited by Hiuan Tshang, can be derived from Sanscrit roots. The mountain *Pilosolo*, (steady as an elephant,) is *Pilusára*; but this very term for “elephant” is considered as introduced into Sanscrit from another language. ‡ I only mention this in order to recall the affinity observable here to an Indian language.

When Hiuan Tshang leaving India † on his pilgrimage had passed the snowy mountains, he descended for three journeys, and reached *Anthalofo*. This is *Anderab* in the Balkh. On the southern side, the furthest state is *Foelichisatangna* (sthâna), where a Turkish family reigned in the capital *Houphina*. Baber made his first march to Cabul from the north through the Panjhir or Kip-chak pass. He says, “On arriving at the top of the pass, Upiân or Hupiân, I saw for the first time the star Soheil. §” This statement determines *Houphina*.

Below *Houphina* the empire *Thsaokiutho* was situated, attached in Hiuan Tshang's time to *Kiapiche*; it was therefore in the valley of the Panjhir river. Here also he makes mention of

\* Denkwuerdigk, p. 363.

† De pentap. Ind. p. 84.

‡ p. 395.

§ p. 262.

*Stoopas*, which are attributed to the Indian king Azôka. The language and characters of this country were, however, not Indian.

The empire *Falanou*, extending to the south, the situation of which most probably is on the river Baran, still belonged at that period to the kingdom *Kiapiche*. This river is often mentioned by Mr. Masson, and still more often by Sultan Baber, and it is strange enough, neither of them distinctly say what river is meant by it. According to Baber, the Alingâr dis-embogues into the Baran, (p. 276) and in travelling from Cabul to Lamghan on crossing the Baran, § two distinct plains are met with between the foot of the mountains of Gurbend, and the river Baran. Baber goes down along the Baran to collect the revenues of Nijrow. Hence Baran must be the name for the united Gurbend and Panjhir rivers downwards to Lamghan. The statement of *Falanou* lying below *Thsaokiutho*, leads to the same conclusion, and it is a much more certain one than the distances, incorrectly stated regarding this immediate region, enable us to arrive at; but I cannot enter here upon an examination of them. It must be the Kohdâman, perhaps the Verena of the Vendidad. Beghram probably was, in *Falanou*, separated, as it appears from Cabul. *Falanou*, though a province of *Kiapiche*, is still assigned to India, however little similarity the language is said to have had to Indian idioms. It seems to have been here, that the distinctive separation of the spoken languages occurred.

In his journey to India Hiuan Thsang, does not describe *Falanou* and *Thsaokiutho*, but he goes from *Kiapiche* to *Lampho*. This seems to intimate, that he travelled a mid-course, between the two above mentioned countries, upon the great road, which, leaving *Thsaokiutho* to the left and *Falanou* to the right, leads over Beghram to Nijrow, Lamghan and Jelalabad. (Masson As. T. V. p. 2.)

Lampho is 600 *lis* distant, in an easterly direction, from *Kiapiche*, the way goes through difficult defiles, it was on the confines of India, and lies about the Black mountains; they are perhaps the Siahkoh on the river Kohdâman. (Masson I. 1. p. 2)

*Lampho* certainly cannot be any thing other than Lamghan,



the *Lambagae* of Ptolemy, and *Lampaka* of the Indians. In Lamghan there exists an old monument, which the Mahomedans pretend to be the tomb\* of Lamech, which Hiuan Thsang has perhaps visited.

The aboriginal inhabitants of Lamghan still use an Indian dialect, and it is indeed a very remarkable fact, that the national contrasts of these people may be so distinctly traced throughout various periods. Ptolemy and Hiuan Thsang entirely agree as to this point, and we have besides the language in corroboration. Hiuan Thsang did not meet with an Indian language, or Indian characters in the valleys beyond the Kohdâman; within the Kohdâman itself, there was a certain similarity with the Indian dialects. On the southern bank of the Cabul river, *Nakoloho* is the extreme boundary of India.

I hope, that I have thus illustrated, though very briefly, the Chinese description of those districts; there remains yet another province, which the Buddhist pilgrims, whose reports are available to us, have not visited, to complete this sketch, and it must be still touched upon. This is *Kipin*; which Fahian mentions, without having advanced so far himself;† it is entirely passed over by Hiuan Thsang. It often occurs in the Chinese annals, from soon after the year 142 B. C. down to 758 A. D.;‡ it was then united with Udjana. In the beginning of the sixth century it waged war with Gandhara on a boundary question, (Foe K. p. 354) and must therefore have possessed those districts which were adjacent on the west to Gandhara. As the Chinese annals make mention of relations between *Kipin* and the Chinese court, but not of any with *Kiapiche*, we might be disposed to presume, that *Kipin* was the diplomatic expression, used to indicate the complete empire *Kiapiche*. But the statements point to another situation. *Kipin* was 700 *lis* to the southward from Bamian, and not eastward as was *Kiapiche*, and 400 *lis* eastwards from *Sieiju* with its capital *Husina*, which must be Ghuznee. These accounts lead one indeed to the neighbourhood of Cabul, which is not mentioned in the reports of the

\* Baber, p. 276. Hence he derives the name.

† p. 22.

‡ The reports are collected by Ritter VII. 682.

pilgrims. Here Remusat's assertion, that Kipin is the country about the Kophen, seems to be confirmed. It is the tract about the sources of the river rising to the west of Cabul. It accords with this opinion (to maintain) that Kipin was distinguished as a state independent of *Kiapiche* and *Falanou*, and is made mention of as a principality which bordered upon Gandhara, and at one time also possessed Udjana. It is likewise in accordance with the above, to distinguish *Kaofu*, by which term Cabul seems to be meant, from Kipin. The one fact is evident, that the word *Kipin* was used in a more extended and more limited sense at different periods. The Chinese accounts most forcibly support what has been already theoretically inferred from the geographical character of the Cabul districts, that they easily split into a number of petty principalities, subjected to constant alteration as regarded their extent and their boundaries.

## § 12.

### *The Alphabetical Characters.*

We will first inquire as to the letters (used in these countries), and this inquiry will be made rather with reference to their historical than their paleographic relations, as these latter cannot be explained in all their bearings (consequences), without our having obtained the perfect alphabet.

First, as to their nature. The letters are partly independent, i. e. such as occupy their own places in the line, and partly dependent, such as the vowel signs; the former are either consonants, or diphthongs, or vowels commencing a syllable.

Let me first put together the consonants, as we have discovered them.

Gutturals :	.....	ᳵ. k ;	ᳶ. kh ;	᳷. h.
Palatals :	.....	᳸. (j.)		
Dentals :	.....	᳹. t. ....	ᳺ. d ;	᳻. dh.
Labials :	.....	᳼. p.	᳽. f. (doubtful.)	
Semivowels :	.....	᳾. j.	᳿. r.	᳠. l ; ᳡. v.
Sibilants :	.....	᳢. z ;	᳣. sh.	᳤. s.
Nasals :	.....	᳥. m.	᳦. ᳧, ᳨, n.	
Finally, an uncertain sign	ᳩ. f.			

This table shows still some deficiencies ; we still want a G, which I do not venture to adopt from a doubtful word of the inscriptions on the topes ; we may also look for a K ( क ) and a B, perhaps also the softer sibilants. This conjecture is founded upon the observation, that the characters still undecyphered, are as many as there are letters deficient ; and under this idea, the supposition that the language may not have possessed convertible, and intermediate consonants, is nullified.

The diphthong ष, ô, is always written within the line ; the same must also be supposed as to the analogous ॠ ê, though this is not yet determined with certainty.

The vowels ॡ, a, and ॢ, u, appear to be ascertained, but ॠ, i, is not so certain. If the remark, that in the alphabet the different quantities of the vowels are not expressed, be well founded, we have not to look for further additions to the vowels ; but we must still wait the decision, as to whether the sign, supposed to denote the shortened u, can be proved correct, or whether ॢ was ordinarily substituted for u. Upon this supposition, however, would arise a contradiction as well in the mode of representing the vowels between i, and u, as also in the manner of expressing the Greek υ. The vowels i, and originally, as is most probable, u, also, when following consonants, are denoted by peculiar marks, annexed to the consonants ; the i by a small perpendicular line drawn through the consonant from above ; u, if our supposition be correct, by a small angular projection to the right.

A, is considered as inherent in the consonant, and a consonant which presents no other sign of a vowel, must ordinarily have the vowel a, whether long or short. A, being excluded from a final consonant, is not denoted by any sign. There seems to exist a diacritical point for distinguishing similar characters ; a small cross line annexed below is a mere calligraphic ornament.

(To be continued.)

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